

Karu language

Karu, one of several languages called **Baniwa** (Baniva), or in older sources *Itayaine* (*Iyaine*), is an Arawakan language spoken in Colombia, Venezuela, and Amazonas, Brazil. It forms a subgroup with the Tariana, Piapoco, Resígaro and Guarequena languages.^[3] There are 10,000 speakers.^[4]

Contents
Varieties
Grammar
Sounds
Alignment System
Noun Classification System
Negation
Word Order
Vocabulary
Further reading
References
External links

Varieties

Aikhenvald (1999) considers the three main varieties to be dialects; Kaufman (1994) considers them to be distinct languages, in a group he calls "Karu". They are:

- Baniwa of Içana (*Baniua do Içana*)
- Curripaco (Kurripako, Ipeka-Tapuia-Curripako)
- Katapolítani-Moriwene-Mapanai (Catapolitani, Kadaupuritana)

Various (sub)dialects of all three are called *tapuya*, a Brazilian Portuguese and Nheengatu word for non-Tupi/non-Guarani Indigenous peoples of Brazil (from a Tupi word meaning "enemy, barbarian"). All are spoken by the Baniwa people. Ruhlen lists all as "Izaneni"; Greenberg's *Adzánani* (= Izaneni) presumably belongs here.

Ramirez (2019) gives the following classification for three separate dialect chains:^[5]

Karu	
Baniwa	
Tapuya	
Native to	Colombia, Venezuela, Brazil
Ethnicity	Baniwa people
Native speakers	12,000 (2001–2007) ^[1]
Language family	Arawakan <ul style="list-style-type: none">■ Northern<ul style="list-style-type: none">■ Upper Amazon<ul style="list-style-type: none">■ Eastern Nawiki<ul style="list-style-type: none">■ Karu
Dialects	Carútana-Baniwa Hohôdene (Katapolitana) Siusy-Tapuya (Seuci) Ipeka-Tapuia Curripaco (<i>Wakuénai</i>) Unhun (Katapolitana, Enhen) Waliperi Mapanai Moriwene
Official status	
Official language in	 Brazil (São Gabriel da Cachoeira)
Language codes	
ISO 639-3	Either: <div><div>bwi – Baniwa</div><div>kpc – Curripako</div></div>
Glottolog	bani1259 (http://glottolog.org/resource/languoid/id/ba)

- **Southern (Karotana):** lower Içana River, also a group living in Victorino on the Guainia River (Colombia-Venezuela border)

ni1259)

Baniwa-Curripaco^[2]

- Mapatsi-Dákeenai (Yurupari-Tapuya)
- Wadzoli-Dákeenai (Urubu-Tapuya)
- Dzawi-Mínanai (Yauareté-Tapuya)
- Adaro-Mínanai (Arara-Tapuya)
- **Central (Baniwa):** middle Içana River (from Assunção Mission to Siuci-Cachoeira) and its tributaries (Aiari River and lower Cuiari River); also around Tunuí
 - Hohódeeni
 - Walipere-Dákeenai (Siucí-Tapuya)
 - Máolieni (Cáuatapuya)
 - Mápanai (Ira-Tapuya)
 - Awádzoronai
 - Molíweni (Sucuriyú-Tapuya)
 - Kadáopoliri
 - etc.
- **Northern** (called "**Koripako**" in Brazil): upper Içana River (from Matapi upwards), Guainia River, headwaters of the Cuiari River
 - Ayáneeni (Tatú-Tapuya)
 - Payoálieni (Pacútapuya)
 - Komada-Mínanai (Ipéca-Tapuya)
 - Kapitti-Mínanai (Coatí-Tapuya)
 - etc.

Grammar

Sounds

Consonants

		<u>Bilabial</u>	<u>Dental</u>	<u>Alveolar</u>	<u>Retroflex</u>	<u>Palatal</u>	<u>Velar</u>	<u>Glottal</u>
<u>Stop</u>	plain	p	t̪	t			k	
	aspirated	p ^h	t̪ ^h	t ^h			k ^h	
	voiced	b		d				
<u>Affricate</u>	plain			ts		tʃ		
	aspirated			ts ^h		tʃ ^h		
	voiced			dz		dʒ		
<u>Fricative</u>	plain	ɸ		ʃ	ʂ	ç		h
	voiced	β			ʐ			
<u>Flap</u>	voiced			ɺ				
	voiceless			ɺ̥				
<u>Nasal</u>	voiced	m		n		ɲ	(ŋ)	
	voiceless	ɱ		ɳ		ɲ̥		
<u>Approximant</u>		w ~ ɰ				j ~ j̥		

- Voiced approximant sounds can fluctuate to voiceless sounds among dialects.
- /ŋ/ only occurs when preceding a velar consonant.

Vowels

	<u>Front</u>	<u>Back</u>
<u>High</u>	i i:	
<u>Mid</u>	e e:	o o:
<u>Low</u>	a a:	

- When occurring as short, the vowels /i e a o/ are realized as [ɪ ɛ ə ʊ]. They are also realized as both short and long nasals /ĩ ẽ ẽ õ/, [ĩ ẽ ã õ].^[6]

Alignment System

Baniwa has active–stative alignment.^[7] This means that the subject of an intransitive clause is sometimes marked in the same way as the agent of a transitive clause, and sometimes marked in the same way as the patient of a transitive clause. In Baniwa alignment is realized through verbal agreement, namely prefixes and enclitics.

Prefixes are used to mark:

- Active intransitive subjects (S_a)
- Agents of transitive clauses (A)
- Possessors
- Arguments of adpositions

Enclitics are used to mark:

- Stative intransitive subjects (S₀)
- Patients of transitive clauses (O)

	Prefixes		Enclitics	
	singular	plural	singular	plural
First person	<i>nu-</i>	<i>wa-</i>	<i>-hnua</i>	<i>-hwa</i>
Second person	<i>pi-</i>	<i>i-</i>	<i>-phia</i>	<i>-ihia</i>
Third person Nonfeminine	<i>ri-</i>	<i>na-</i>	<i>-ni/ -hria</i>	<i>-hna</i>
Third person Feminine	<i>zu-</i>			
Impersonal	<i>pa-</i>		<i>-pha</i>	

The differences between active and stative intransitive clauses can be illustrated below:

- Transitive: *ri-kapa-ni* 'He sees him/it'
- Active Intransitive: *ri-emhani* 'He walks'
- Stative Intransitive: *hape-ka-ni* 'He is cold'

Noun Classification System

Baniwa has an interesting system of noun classification that combines a gender system with a noun classifier system.^[8] Baniwa has two genders: feminine and nonfeminine. Feminine gender agreement is used to refer to female referents, whilst nonfeminine gender agreement is used for all other referents. The two genders are only distinguished in third person singular. Aihkenvald (2007) considers the bipartite gender system to be inherited from Proto-Arawak.^[8]

In addition to gender, Baniwa also has 46 classifiers. Classifiers are used in three main contexts:^[8]

- As a derivational suffix on nouns, e.g. *tɕipa ra-api* (metal.object-CL.hollow) 'pan'
- With numerals, e.g. *apa-api mawapi* (one-CL.hollow blowgun+CL.long.thin) 'one blow gun'
- With adjectives, e.g. *tɕipa ra-api maka-api* (metal.object-CL.hollow big-CL.hollow) 'big pan'

Aihkenvald (2007) divides Baniwa classifiers into four different classes. One set of classifiers is used for humans, animate beings and body parts. Another set of classifiers specify the shape, consistency, quantification or specificity of the noun. Two more classes can be distinguished. One is only used with numerals and the other is only used with adjectives.^[8]

Classifiers for Humans and animate beings:^[8]

Classifier	Usage	Example
<i>-ita</i>	for animate males and body parts	<i>apa-ita peda ria</i> 'one old man'
<i>-hipa</i>	for human males only	<i>aphepa nawiki</i> 'one man'
<i>-ma</i>	for female referents	<i>apa-ma ina zu</i> 'one woman'

Classifiers according to shape, consistency, quantification and specificity:^[8]

Classifier	Usage	Example
-da	round objects, natural phenomena and generic classifier	<i>hipada</i> 'stone'
-apa	flying animate, semioval objects	<i>kepi:zeni</i> 'bird'
-kwa	flat, round, extended objects	<i>kaida</i> 'beach'
-kha	curvilinear objects	<i>a:pi</i> 'snake'
-na	vertical, standing objects	<i>haiku</i> 'tree'
-∅	hollow, small objects	<i>a:ta</i> 'cup'
-maka	stretchable, extended objects	<i>tšaia</i> 'skirt'
-ahna	liquids	<i>u:ni</i> 'water'
-ima	sides	<i>apema nu-kapi makema ri</i> 'one big side of my hand'
-pa	boxes, parcels	<i>apa-pa itsa maka-pa ri</i> 'one big box of fishing hooks'
-wana	thin slice	<i>apa-wana kuphe maka-wane</i> 'a big thin slice of fish'
-wata	bundle for carrying	<i>apa-wata pa rana maka-wate</i> 'a big bundle of bananas'
-∅	canoes	<i>i:ta</i> 'canoe'
-pawa	rivers	<i>u:ni</i> 'river'
-fa	excrement	<i>i fa</i> 'excrement'
-ya	skins	<i>dzawiya</i> 'jaguar skin'

Negation

There are two main strategies for negation in the Kurripako-Baniwa varieties:^[4]

- Independent negative markers
- The privative derivational prefix *ma-*

Different varieties have different negative markers. This is so prominent that speakers identify Kurripako dialects according to the words for 'yes' and 'no'.^[4]

Dialect	Spoken in	Yes	No
Aha-Khuri	Colombia, Venezuela & Brazil	<i>Aha</i>	<i>Khuri</i>
Ehe-Khenim	Venezuela	<i>Ehe</i>	<i>Khenim</i>
Oho-Karo	Colombia & Brazil	<i>Oho</i>	<i>Karo</i>
Oho-Ñame	Colombia & Brazil	<i>Oho</i>	<i>Ñame</i>

The independent negative markers come before the verb. They are used as clausal negators in declarative and interrogative sentences. They are also used to link clauses.^[4]

The privative suffix is attached to nouns to derive a verb which means 'lacking' the noun from which it was derived. The opposite of the privative prefix is the attributive prefix *ka-*. This derives a verb which means 'having' the noun from which it was derived.^[4] The difference can be illustrated below:

- Noun: *iipe* 'meat'
- Privative: ***ma-iipe*** > *meepe* 'be thin' (lit. lack meat)
- Attributive: ***ka-iipe*** > *keepe* 'be fat' (lit. have meat)

The prefix is used in combination with the restrictive suffix *-tsa* to form negative imperatives, e.g. ***ma-ihnia-tsa*** 'don't eat!'. A privative prefix is also reconstructed in Proto-Arawak privative as **ma-*.^[9]

Word Order

Granadillo (2014) considers Kurripako a VOS language.^[4]

Vocabulary

Verbs^[10]

Baniwa	English
Kapa	To See
Za	To Drink
Hima	To Hear
Cami	To Die
Nu	To Come

Further reading

- Gonçalves, Artur Garcia. 2018. *Para uma dialetologia baniwa-koripako do rio Içana*. M.A. dissertation, Universidade de Brasília.

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External links

- [Baniva del Guainia Language \(http://www.native-languages.org/baniva.htm\)](http://www.native-languages.org/baniva.htm)
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